1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

177 served by native pastors. Communication with the outside world during the
939 past years has varied considerably, depending on the rise and fall of the price
265 of copra. For some time a Burns Philp trading schooner has visited the island twice each year to buy copra, to trade, and to carry mail, but this service is now discontinued with the closing of Apia as port of entry for Pukapuka. A warship of the New Zealand station usually makes an annual visit to Pukapuka. There is now occasional direct communication between Pukapuka and Rarotonga, headquarters for the Cook Islands Administration.

177 The effect of the contact with white culture upon native Pukapukan culture
797 has been out of all proportion to the general lack of communication between
771 the atoll and the outside world, due to the zeal of the native London Mission-
672 ary Society pastors. Customs and practices associated with the old-time re-
602 ligion have been wiped out; religious structures have been destroyed, and the stones of which they were constructed used to build houses and the causeway that joins old and new Yato villages. Social organization has not been much affected beyond the breaking down of the power of the chiefs and their supersession as governing authorities by an authority set up under the Cook Islands Act. Old kinship avoidances show signs of falling into disuse among the younger generations, though they are strictly followed by the older people. Traditional history and genealogies are still well remembered.

177 The Pukapukan language is being gradually superseded by the Rarotongan
797 as the language of church and government. The native missionaries have
191 all been Pukapukan or Rarotongan, trained in the Rarotongan mission schools, and the Rarotongan dialect has been the language used by missionaries in the Cook Islands. The Bible used is in the Rarotongan dialect, and today Rarotongan is taught in the school by the present missionary and spoken exclusively by the resident agent. Very old people still speak fairly pure Pukapukan among themselves; some middle-aged people follow this example but use Rarotongan for church and state business; others tend to speak Rarotongan exclusively. Younger people who have passed through school tend to speak Rarotongan for all purposes and often find old Pukapukan speech or idiom difficult to understand. The old chants are remembered in Pukapukan, though they contain many archaic words which even those with a full [129] and ready knowledge of Pukapukan can not understand. We insisted on informant's using the Pukapukan dialect as far as possible in their communications with us, as this was the only way to compile a vocabulary of the dialect; many were the arguments over the admission of various words to our lists of Pukapukan words.

177 The morality of the community has of course been vitally affected by
797 missionary influence. As a result there is a wide breach between the moral
577 theory on which the community is supposed to operate and the actual code of conduct followed by the majority. The life of the young people in its

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group. If the head is a male, he is succeeded at death by the next oldest member, sometimes by his sister's son. His functions are light. He acts as gift-giver at the *wuele* feasts for first-born children in the families making up the descent group. He represents the lineage at inter-lineage and village meetings, arranges for the carrying out of its activities in games, competitions and feasts. He has no special status in the community beyond a certain position within his own group, based on seniority. There is no record today of internal moiety organization, but it is likely that the senior lineage within the moiety formerly appointed a head man to oversee the affairs of the moiety.

No tapu objects are linked with the maternal lineages today. No gods were linked with them in former times.

Informants had little clear memory of any association between moiety, lineage, or sub-lineage and plant, animal, or natural phenomena. There is no suggestion of any relationship that could be construed as totemistic.

It is possible that formerly each lineage had associated with it a type of decoration, or an object used as a status or prestige symbol. A suggestion of this occurs in the chant, "Patemu Te Watu, kino te wenua" (1); informants thought a reference to the *lei*, a seaweed that grows in the ocean and is said to color the sea red or yellow or green, was associated in some way with the Wua Uila. Informants were unable to define this relationship, nor could they in general give the names of other plant or natural phenomena linked with any of the other lineages. Two reliable informants, however, asserted that the *uvivu* and coconut trees were linked with the Lulu, and the pandanus tree with the Kati groups. They could give no details of this linkage and this reference may refer to a time when there was a type of prestige symbol associated with each lineage, a matter otherwise totally forgotten today.

Today the sub-lineages are strictly exogamic. To marry a member of one's own sub-lineage is to commit incest (*kai wale*, "house eating" or *kai kiko*, "flesh eating"). There was no secular punishment for this breaking of tapu, but the goddess Taua or the god of his paternal lineage would punish a male deviant with sickness, tumors, or accidental death by falling from a tree; and Mataliki or the god of her paternal lineage would punish a woman with sickness, accidental death, difficult childbirth, loss of her child in childbirth, or barrenness.

The maternal lineages are neither exogamic nor endogamic. The members of a lineage, provided they do not belong to the same sub-lineage, may intermarry if the other rules governing marriage, avoidance tapus, and rules of consanguinity are not infringed.

In former times, before the sub-lineages had subdivided themselves from the lineages, the moieties and lineages were possibly exogamic, and the lineages functioned as clans. As the number of lineages in each group increased and subdivided into smaller functional units, each sub-lineage continued the pattern of exogamy derived from the larger unit, and there was then no need to stress lineage exogamy. More precisely, exogamy,

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Neither paternal lineage nor sub-lineage was exogamous or endogamous. Intra-marriage was governed by rules of consanguinity. No totem objects or prestige symbols were associated with any of the paternal lineages. Certain gods were associated with the paternal groups. (See p. 308.)

The amount of lineage localization in the two villages for which information is available is comparatively large, as is to be expected from the operation of the rule of patrilocal marital residence. Of 39 male heads of households in Ngake whose residence is patrilocal, 37 men or 95 percent are members of the two Ngake paternal lineages, Muliwutu and Matanga. In Yato, 27 out of 33, or 82 percent, are members of the three Yato paternal lineages, Yamaonga, Yaxi, and Yalongo.

There is no mythological account of the origin of the patrilineal lineages. Informants make the simple statement that after the seismic wave that devastated the island thirteen generations ago, only 15 men and their families were left of the original population. From these men the present population has descended. Seven of the men founded anew and named patrilineal lineages from which, by a process of fissure when numbers became great, other minor sub-lineages split off. Nothing is known of the lineages previous to the seismic wave, but informants presume that there were in existence similar named patrilineal lineages.

Various instances of irregular lineage membership came to my attention:

Children of a Pukapukan woman and a non-Pukapukan husband, white or native, go to the mother's cemetery for burial; the husband also acquires membership in his wife's paternal lineage.

One Pukapukan whose wife is deceased, has remained, together with his children, in residence in the household of his father-in-law. For reasons of sentiment, he has arranged with his father-in-law for himself and his children to be buried in his late wife's cemetery, the cemetery of his father-in-law.

The child (*tama to taka*) of an unmarried mother is a member of its mother's paternal lineage, unless later adopted by the mother's husband when she marries. A child conceived out of wedlock, but born after its mother's marriage to a man not the physiological father of the child, is regarded as the child of his mother's husband and is a member of his paternal lineage; the husband becomes the sociological father of the child.

X is a *tama to taka*, adopted into the paternal lineage of his maternal grandfather's father. His grandfather does not belong to that group, having been adopted into another. X's mother belongs to the lineage into which her father was adopted. Wishing for sentimental reasons that her son and offspring go to the same cemetery as her father, she is going to substitute for her son, and be herself buried in the lineage-cemetery into which he was adopted, so that he and his line may exchange groupings with her.

Only one instance is on record of sharing children between the lineages of the father and of the mother. The siblings—father, father's sister, father's brother—in household 43 of table 3, all belong to the paternal lineage of their mother. Three siblings, now dead, all went to the father's paternal lineage. No adoption was involved in this division of the children among the two groups. It was specifically described as an idiosyncrasy on the part of both parents for which no motivations could be advanced today, as the arrangement was made about 55 years ago. It is possible that the division was influenced by southern Cook Islands practice.

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605 visits at the house of Elia, and Molingi, Elia's wife, visits with Veti. Neither Elia nor Lotea visits the opposite house, even when he knows the *wale atua* is absent, through fear of inadvertently touching objects belonging to the other. All communication between the two is carried on through a third person.

605 695 The resident agent remarks on the difficulty of court work when *wale atua* are involved in a case. Neither *wale atua* will appear in court to act as witness or plaintiff but insists on sending a proxy. If the agent insists that both *wale atua* shall be present in his court, they turn their backs on each other, keep as far apart as possible, and direct all questions to each other through intermediaries.

602 835 588 753 The intense taps that exists between *wale atua* relatives is supported by the cultural fiction that they are potentially and actually more interested in each other emotionally than in other members of the opposite sex:

> Sometimes in spite of the taps *wale atua* become so shameless as to consummate an emotional attraction. Formerly, where this actually happened and was discovered, the couple were rendered outcasts by their families, who prayed to their family gods to punish with sickness the terrible sin. The common punishment asked for was filarial infection of the two *wale atua* and their descendants for ever and ever. Some informants tended to take the incidence of filaria today as due to forgotten or half-forgotten *wale atua* incest in the families of those affected. One well-remembered case is that of Pokala who married his *wale atua*, Weetau, just after the mission was established. Husband and wife, their twelve children, and numerous grandchildren all suffered and continue to suffer to this day from filarial infection. One old man, a good Christian, calmly assured me that his filaria was due to the fact that his first wife was his *wale atua*, whom he married in an access of Christian zeal with an idea of proving that old tapus were worthless. He expressed no regret at his hasty action.

[771]

602 539 835 The attraction of *wale atua* for each other is mentioned many times in the old love chants (*hupe*), many of which seem to have their origin either in a hopeless or in a consummated affection of one *wale atua* for another. When asked for rationalizations for the *wale atua* taps, informants could only quote the two following sections from *hupe*. The rationalization is obscure and can not now be clarified, but there is no mistaking the intensity of emotion that finds expression:

Ko Mataliki koe, ko Tuku au	You are Mataliki (the Pleiades), I am Tuku (Orion)
Ko anau au koe pukou	(We lived) like two dunnites together (as do those stars)
Kikii mai, e aku wale atua	Turn to me, oh my wale atua
E tiaukuru, e tiaupa tuatua	You are rascal, you are the tapu piece
Ko tuakuruuru aku manako,	(for which) my heart has longed,
Tuku aake pauka ga ko pauka o ko aiwaka na	(When I am you) my penis resembles like the beginning (branch) of the Ngatae vehicle.

The second chant runs:

Ko tuakuruuru aki ai au,	I had dread my desire (for my wale atua),
Ko tuku aapau i ai ahaaki,	You have been against (hostile to me) and make fast my desire,
Ki ahauaiaua aake ai au	Dread in my heart (with shame),
Koe aapau i aku manako,	Go to my shameful deed,
Ko aake kai kaiaka ko aau,	Oh, my heart for you,
I kaai ki aake ki ko aau,	I must dwell in the shame of my heart,
I aapau ki aake ki ko aau,	I must dwell with (?) in shame for you, oh,
I aapau ki aake (aku pauka) ki ko aau,	I must turn to (my penis) to the wale atua,
Ko aau ki aau ko aau,	You turn to me (to my penis),
	Like our sexual unfaithfulness (so shall have intercourse, don't we)

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824 783 [521 — friends or relatives but this will not ward off its effects. Nor does it help to keep a dream secret. In point of fact, the Pukapukans take great pleasure in talking of their dreams and discussing them in great detail. Many dreams told us did not seem particularly significant but related to the arrival of a steamer at Pukapuka, bringing with it large supplies of flour and clothes for the people. These might be construed as anxiety dreams, as one of the ever-present problems of the Pukapukan of today is to obtain enough clothes to keep himself and family dressed according to the white man's idea of decency; and in an atoll where a heavy storm may seriously deplete the available food supply, it is perhaps only natural during the hurricane season to dream of abundant food. A number of dreams related to us are reserved for treatment elsewhere.

RELIGION

CLASSIFICATION OF GODS

178 771 — Nowhere has cultural change had more effect on Pukapuka than in the sphere of religion. Christianity has not only erased old-time beliefs and customs; it has made it a sin to talk about pre-Christian religious practices. In the 78 years since the island was Christianized, memories of the old religion have become rusty in a way that does not apply to social organization. It is impossible to obtain eyewitness accounts of sacred ceremonies; this lack of first-hand material necessarily renders the following discussion somewhat abstract.

776 Nowhere is the confusion over old-time religion more evident than in the subject of gods (*atua*), their functions and their classification. This was considered many times with different groups of informants after we had gained their confidence; each group had differing ideas of what the old time set-up really was. The following classification suggested by informants is probably as nearly correct as any that could be made at this late date:

Atua wolo: big god.
Atua punupunu: principal gods of the paternal lineages (po) who are worshiped by priests of the lineages on special religious structures (awanga ya).
Atua tangaloa: principal departmental gods, not associated with lineages, prayed to anywhere, any time, by layman or priest.
Atua tangata: deified ancestors associated with the specific paternal lineages of which they were members when alive, prayed to by lineage priests on religious clearings (yionga) or by lay lineage members at commemorative stones (watu mauli ola).
Atua no te po: departmental gods of the Underworld, not prayed to.

Besides the above gods there are also several unclassified gods who were not prayed to and are now remembered only in legends. Through forgotten historical accident and because of dual function, several gods appear in more than one category. Informants could give no meaning to the category names, *punupunu* and *tangaloa*. Classification concerns only the important gods—

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188 193 To *lupe*, the priest stood up with bent body, and advanced in a zigzag fashion, taking six or seven short tripping steps in one direction, then a similar number of steps obliquely. This is called *wakauli te vae*. At the same time he beat his thighs with the palms of his hands (*wakatoto te tenga*) and made with his lips a b r ... r ... r ... sound as if imitating the call of the wild pigeon (*lupe te leo*). Alternately he knelt on his sacred seat and performed this ritual without the steps. After performing these acts for a shorter or longer time, the priest expected to be filled by the spirit of the god. The spirit's manifestations were various: the priest's skin broke out in goose flesh (*hilihilia*); his head felt as if it were growing bigger and bigger; his feet moved against his will, and he felt that he was walking on air. He might break into a violent sweat, accompanied by chattering of the teeth, moaning, or speaking in a distorted voice. Any of these manifestations was taken as a sign of the presence of the god. The priest might immediately speak aloud the will of the god, or else interpret his experience to the people when he returned to normal feeling.

187 193 111 Variations of this general pattern of god house communication occurred in enclosure ceremonies. The people of the lineage went to the sacred enclosure of the lineage god for general consultations when the lineage planned a large-scale fishing expedition, as formerly to Nassau or Tima reef; when it planned a fishing, wrestling, or other contest with the other lineages; when a bad sickness or epidemic affected the people of the lineage; when a foreign canoe or a white man's boat was sighted; when, on infrequent occasions, a lineage decided to set up a sacred clearing for a man just made a deified ancestor; and at the time of the morning rising of the Pleiades (Mataliki) when the lineage gathered for ceremonies to procure the favor of the god during the coming year. Members of the chiefly lineages went to their respective enclosures for the induction of a new chief or sacred maid; all the people of the island attended the induction ceremonies of the supreme chief on the enclosure of i Tua lineage.

196 182 A reconstruction from informant's accounts of an enclosure ceremony follows:

The people gathered at the sacred enclosure on the cleared common space (*atuanga tanga*) that surrounded the tapu area. They grouped themselves around the outside of the coral curbing (*atinga vaita*). Attended by the other priests of the lineage the officiating priest met the people if the god house was close; or, if it was distant, he arrived at the enclosure after the people were there. He was dressed in full priestly costume. Either the priest brought an offering (*lakei*) to the god or the people gave him one when they officially explained why they wished him to consult the god for them. Then as the people watched, the priest crossed the threshold of the enclosure at one of the gates (*pu*). He advanced to the sacred stone in the center and tied to the stone the offering. This was of coconut leaves if the consultation was for fishing contests, for aid in a quarrel, or for help in meeting foreign canoes. An offering of a pandanus mala or bands of *uvia* bark (*vauli uvia*) was used for sickness consultations. In general, the type of offering depended on the priest's choice from the materials supplied by the people of the lineage to the stock of such god gifts kept ready in the god house. Coconut-leaf offerings seem to have been the most common. To wind the offering around the sacred stone is called *wahaipa*; to fasten the offering to the stone with a knot is *yele*.

196 181 After offering the gift to the god, the priest squatted, crouched, or knelt before the stone and talked silently to the god. Presently he felt one of the signs that the

244 when the first leaves are just opening.

241 Useful plants such as bananas, sugar cane, talo, niu [coconut tree], etc. should all be planted at the time of the new moon if they are to grow and produce well.

625 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 232--analyst.] Through
616 the idea of a women's pule [guard] is new, informants noted
621 that it was entirely consonant with Pukapukan patterns that the woman's pule should be organized on wua lines, all the Kati women serving at once, followd by the Lulu women. This would only include those members of the wua who were members of the village and hence represents village membership primarily, wua membership secondarily.

597 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 251--analyst.] It is
592 probably not an over exaggeration to say that there is not one household in Pukapuka which does not number among the children of the house at least one, if not more, tama kokoti, and at least one tama wangai, who may or may not later become a tama kokoti.

581 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 295--analyst.] One informant felt that obediance was probably the greatest virtue to be found in a woman, but man looks for sexual pleasure first of all. Then he looks for other virtues.

522 While the Pukapukan language lends itself easily to puns,
196 there is no such form of humor nor appreciation of it.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 310--analyst.] When
245 the clusters of nuts were brought to the malae of food division,
771 one was chosen to take each cluster and shake it. All the
782 nuts that fell from the cluster were divided among the people. All that remained on the bunch were given to the god. The number to be left on the stem was preferably 1-4. If a man shook a bunch and more than 5 remained for the share of the god, this was considered too many, and this food divider was dismissed never to be chosen again. He was considered to be too partial to the god, and not partial enough to the people of the island. After all the clusters were shaken thus, the nuts for Tamaysi were gathered together and taken to a back part of the bush, somewhere behind the site of the present church, and then laid on the ground. Here they are left to rot and it is presumed that the god feasts from the spiritual essence of the nuts.